

which is always the best because the most reliable.

The South has shared in this splendid progress, in this golden period of development. From 1851 to 1860 the average yearly production of pig iron throughout the United States was less than 800,000 tons. In 1860 the States of Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, Maryland, Texas and North Carolina produced 575,179 net tons, or 75,000 more than the whole annual output of the United States under the free trade period. The eight years just past have brought to the South wonderful progress. You had in 1859, 19,435 miles of railroad; you have now 36,737 miles, and this is increasing. You raised in 1859 5,755,350 bales of cotton; in 1889 you raised 6,800,000 bales. In 1859 you raised 431,071 bushels of grain, and in 1889 you raised 626,365,000 bushels. In 1859 you had live stock amounting in value to \$391,312,254; it is now valued at \$779,695,321. The value of your agricultural products in 1859 was \$241,068,454; in 1887 it had reached \$432,000,400. In 1859 you produced 397,301 tons of pig iron; in 1887 you produced 929,436 tons, and I am assured upon the best authority that it is upward of 1,000,000 now. You mined in 1859 6,049,471 tons of coal, in 1887, 16,476,785 tons. You had in 1859, 179 cotton mills; you have got to-day 300, and they are increasing. The number of your spindles in 1859 was 715,889; they are to-day 1,495,143. The number of your looms in 1859 was 15,232; they are over 34,000 now. The value of cotton goods in 1859 which you produced was \$21,000,000; in 1887 it was over \$41,000,000. And yet, in the presence of such progress, it is seriously proposed to reverse the policy under which it has been made. Surely a

NEW ERA OF INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

has come to the South. Nothing should be permitted to check or retard it. To her nature has been most prodigal with her gifts. Her hills and valleys have been made the storehouses of richest treasure. Coal and iron mines wait impatiently the touch of labor and capital, and tempt both with promise of lavish profit. Raw materials are found at every turn to invite the skilled artisan to transform them into the finished product for the highest uses of man. She possesses the fibres in rich abundance; her skilled labor should weave the fabric. It is said that there is nothing grown in any of the States except Florida, that Georgia cannot profitably produce. She has coal, iron deposits, marble and building stone, cotton and the cereals. Nothing but her own folly, nothing but blindness to her highest and best interests can keep her from the front rank of the industrial states of the Union. Whether we discuss this question from principle, from statistics or experience, we must reach the same conclusion; all lead to the same conviction. Let me give you some important evidence from high and undoubted sources, which confirms the argument which I have been making. President Fillmore said, on Dec. 2, 1851, in his message to Congress, speaking of the condition of the country:

"The value of our exports of breadstuffs and provisions, which it was supposed the incentive of a low tariff and large importations from abroad would have greatly augmented, has fallen from \$68,701,921 in 1847, to \$36,051,373 in 1850, and to \$31,545,653

in 1851, with a strong probability, amounting almost to a certainty, of a still further reduction in the current year. * * * The policy which dictated a low rate of duties on foreign merchandise, it was thought by those who promoted and established it, would tend to benefit the farming population of this country by increasing the demand, and raising the price of agricultural products in foreign markets. The foregoing facts, however, seem to show incontrovertibly that no such result has followed the adoption of this policy."

Again he said in his message of Dec. 6, 1852:

"Without repeating the arguments contained in my former message in favor of discriminating protective duties, I deem it my duty to call your attention to one or two other considerations affecting this subject. The first is the effect of large importations of foreign goods upon our currency. Most of the gold of California, as fast as it is coined, finds its way directly to Europe in payment for goods purchased. In the second place, as our manufacturing establishments are broken down by competition with foreigners, the capital invested in them is lost, thousands of honest and industrious citizens are

THROWN OUT OF EMPLOYMENT, and the farmer to that extent is deprived of a home market for the sale of his surplus produce. In the third place, the destruction of our manufactures leaves the foreigner without competition in our market, and he consequently raises the price of the article sent here for sale, as is now seen in the increased cost of iron imported from England."

In December, 1857, President Buchanan, in his annual message to Congress, said: "The earth has yielded her fruits abundantly, and has bountifully rewarded the toil of the husbandman. We have possessed all the elements of material wealth in rich abundance, and yet, notwithstanding all these advantages, our country in its monetary interests is at the present moment in a deplorable condition. In the midst of unsurpassed plenty in all the productions and in all the elements of natural wealth, we find our manufactures suspended, our public works retarded, our private enterprises of different kinds abandoned, and thousands of useful laborers thrown out of employment and reduced to want."

This testimony would condemn "a revenue tariff" in any court of the land. It ought to force a like verdict from the great jury of our countrymen.

One of the chief complaints against the protective system is its alleged hindrance to foreign trade and a foreign market for our own products. It is argued that if we could import raw material from other countries free, and manufacture such raw material into products for use, we could export them at great profit, and thus secure a standing in the markets of the world. This theory is wholly, as I believe, illusory. It is without substance. We have an example of the raw material in a certain line of manufactures—that of leather for boots, shoes, etc. In 1873 hides and skins were made free, so that our manufacturers could import them without custom house burdens. They have had "free trade" in their raw material now for 16 years. This industry has been an exceptionally successful one, and yet you cannot avoid being surprised when I say to you that in those 16 years we have been able to export but 3 per cent of the leather production of the country.

But if free raw material be necessary to secure an export trade and the foreign markets, then I answer that our manufacturers to-day have substantial free trade in foreign raw materials which they make into the finished product in the United States, provided they export it.

Sections 3019, 3020, 3021 and 3022 of the United States statutes provide for the remission of duties on all foreign materials used in

MANUFACTURING FOR THE EXPORT TRADE.

The law is positive that all articles manufactured for export from imported materials, upon which duties have been paid, shall, when exported, be entitled to a drawback of 90 per cent of the duties paid on such raw materials. Some use has been made of these laws. The remission of duties in 1884 paid upon imported material manufactured for foreign markets amounted to \$2,256,638. On some articles the drawback is equal to the duty paid, but in no instance where articles are imported to be manufactured here and sent abroad is the duty to exceed 10 per cent.

And yet we are gravely told by the tariff reformers that we cannot reach foreign markets on account of the high tariff on the raw material, when, in fact, for foreign trade, foreign raw materials are practically free. This principle was recognized as early as the administration of George Washington, and has been enlarged and made applicable to all imported materials, the drawback varying from 90 to 100 per cent. What becomes, then, of the cry for free raw materials in the presence of this fact? The truth is, we are not so much concerned about the foreign market as we are about the home market. The latter is the best, and we have not yet been able to control it, and until we do, that should be our chief concern. But if any of our people are sighing for a foreign market and value it more highly than our own, they can import foreign raw material practically free of duty, and after advancing into the higher forms of manufacture can go out and possess the world's markets. Taxed raw materials do not now stand in their way, and it is hypocrisy to claim otherwise.

"The markets of the world" in our present condition are a snare and a delusion. We will reach them whenever we can undersell competing nations, and not sooner. Tariffs do not keep us out, and free trade will not make it easier to enter them. Let me give you a brief exhibit of some of our foreign trade, what we buy and what we sell. In the year ending June 30, 1887, we bought of Mexico, the Central American States, British Honduras and the governments of the West Indies and Central America, products to the value of \$173,468,326, and we sold these governments of our products about 33 1/2 per cent in amount of what we bought of them, or about \$58,000,000; and as a showing that our protective tariff did not produce this uncomfortable balance against us, I need only state that more than one-half of the products we bought were not subject to any tariff tax at all, but were admitted free of duty.

Upon what terms can we adopt a revenue tariff system in this country? In one way only,

BY ACCEPTING EUROPEAN CONDITIONS,

and submitting to all the discomforts and disadvantages of our commercial rivals. The chief obstruction in the way of a revenue tariff are the wages paid American workmen, and any return to that policy involves a reduction of the cost of labor. We cannot afford, Mr. President,

to have cheap labor in the United States. Cheap labor means cheap men and dear money. I would rather elevate and improve the condition of my fellow-citizens than increase the value of money and the power of "money-bags." This is a republic of free and equal citizenship. The government is in the hands of the masses, and not of a few. This is our boast, and it is a proud one. The condition of the masses, their well being, their intelligence, their preparation for the civil duties which rest upon them, depend largely upon the scale of industrial wages. It is essential, therefore, that the best possible wages attainable shall be secured and maintained. This is vital and fundamental. We cannot without great danger and serious disturbance—ought not under any circumstances—adopt a policy which would scale down the wages and diminish the comforts of the American workmen. Their welfare and independence, their progress and elevation, are closely related to the welfare and independence and progress of the republic. We have no pampered class in this country, and we want none. We want the field kept open. No narrowing of the avenues, no lowering of our standard. We want no barriers raised against a higher and better civilization. The gateway of opportunity must be open to all, to the end that they may be first who deserve to be first, whether born in poverty or reared in luxury. We do not want the masses excluded from competing for the first rank among their countrymen and for the nation's greatest honors, and we do not mean they shall be.

Free trade, or a revenue tariff, will of necessity shut them out. It has no respect for labor. It holds it as the mere machinery of capital. It would have cheap men that it might have cheap merchandise. With all its boasted love for the struggling millions, it is infinitely more interested in cutting down the wages of labor than in saving 25 cents on a blanket more intent in reducing the purchasing power of a man's labor than the cost of his coat. Things are not always dearest when their price is nominally the highest. The price is not the only measure, but the wherewith to buy it is an essential factor. Few men before me but have found in the course of their lives more than once that which was cheapest when measured by mere price was the dearest when they were

WITHOUT MONEY AND EMPLOYMENT,

or when their products could find no market, and finding it, commanded no price at all commensurate with the labor required to produce them. Primarily, it is labor which is interested most in this question of protection. The man with money can seek other means of profit and investment, or can wait for his dividends, but the laborer cannot wait for his dinner, and the United States do not want citizens who make Presidents and Senators and the House of Representatives to be in a condition of dependence and destitution. That is not the sort of citizenship we want.

Next to the laborer the farmer is the immediate beneficiary of the American system. It brings to his plantation a city of consumers. The farmer and the factor are brought into close proximity. The problem of transportation is largely eliminated. He finds a market not only for staple products which would bear transportation, but for many products which but for a home market would waste and decay in the fields. I need not tell a farmer in this neighborhood of the beneficial effects of a home market. His own experience is better than any philosophy. Atlanta has given him an excellent lesson. It has increased the value of his farm products, and enhanced the value of every foot of ground he owns.

Benjamin Franklin, writing from London in 1771 to Humphrey Marshall, com-

prehended the situation when he said:

"Every manufacturer encouraged in our country makes part of a market for provisions within ourselves, and saves so much money to the country as must otherwise be expended to pay for the manufactures he supplies. Here in England it is well known and understood that wherever a manufacture is established which employs a number of hands, it raises the value of land in the neighboring country all around it; partly by the greater demand near at hand for the produce of the land and partly from the plenty of money drawn by the manufacturers to that part of the country. It seems, therefore, the interest of all our farmers and owners of lands to encourage our young manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported among us from distant countries."

The fathers of the republic appreciated the necessity for a home market. They were all farmers and planters. They could not sell to each other, for each supplied his own wants. This was their situation. They recognized the importance of diversifying the occupations of the people. They must promote other pursuits than the cultivation of the soil. They must have, if they would prosper, consumers who would absorb the

SURPLUS PRODUCTS OF THE FARM.

The result was a protective tariff, and under it the wisdom and foresight of the founders of the republic have been more than vindicated. Andrew Jackson put the case as well as has ever been done when he declared in 1824: "Where has the American farmer a market for his surplus product? Except for cotton, he has neither a foreign or home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market either at home or abroad, that there is too much labor employed in agriculture and that the channels for labor should be multiplied? Common sense points out the remedy. Draw from agriculture the superabundant labor, employ it on mechanism and manufacture, thereby creating a home market for your breadstuffs and distributing labor to the most profitable account and benefit to the country." One-third of the cotton crop of the South is consumed at home. Who would not wish that all of it might find a market in the United States? We would be better off; you would be better off. The country at large would be the gainer if the whole cotton crop was fabricated in our own mills by our own people. Transportation would be a great benefit saved. We would make and buy more cotton cloths at home, and send abroad far less; idle labor would be employed; idle capital find investment; the South would increase its spindles and its looms, and general and permanent prosperity would follow.

The tariff reformer seeks to flatter the New England manufacturer with the suggestion that he no longer needs protection, and should turn his influence in favor of the other states which seek him. He has reached such perfection in manufacture, such completeness of organization, such advancement in mechanical skill, that he has nothing to fear from competition abroad, and that he has but to reach out for our own and the world's market and they are his. He assures him that he has nothing longer to fear from foreign competition, but that his serious danger is from home competition; that, while he is indebted for his splendid progress in industrial development to a protective sys-

tem, he has outgrown it, and if it is to be continued the people of the South and West will become his dangerous rivals, and that to avoid this new competition he invites him to assist in withholding from the states which have been slower in industrial development that measure of legislative protection which has been so profitably evoked by the New England states, and to which they are indebted for their wonderful advance in mechanical and industrial pursuits. What do the South and West say to this narrow and provincial view? It may be true that the New England manufacturer has reached that rank and that degree of perfection when protection to him is not so essential as it once was, but the West and South are in exactly the same condition that New England was twenty years ago, and I am sure will insist that the same fostering legislation shall be accorded for their development that has been so long enjoyed by their more progressive fellow citizens on the eastern coast. The truth is,

PROTECTION MUST BE UNIVERSAL

in its application; equally within the reach of all sections and all industries, or it should be abandoned altogether. It cannot be enjoyed by one interest to the exclusion of another. The New England woolen mills cannot turn to wool, and upon the cloth which they do not, and they do not. The rice planter cannot hope to enjoy full protection against foreign competition and deny equal protection to the producer of salt. The sugar planter of Louisiana cannot invoke the power of Congress for protective duties, and yet deny like protection to industries in other parts of the country. The system must stand as a whole or fall. As Burke said of liberty, "it is the clear right of all or of none. It is only perfect when it is universal." It is only perfect when it is universal.

Next, protective tariff for all interests requiring the encouragement of the government, or it must be free trade or a revenue tariff, and rest alike upon all classes and all portions of the country. We are different from any other nation and it is that difference which makes us the best. Our political system rests upon a principle different from that of any other. It is founded upon the consent of the people. We had not left home, but would have remained the obedient child of an imperious parent. We would not have turned away from the mother country. We would have remained one of her dependencies. We would not have fought our way through blood and sacrifice to independence. We separated to set up for ourselves a free and independent political society, and that policy is the best for us which best subserves the purposes of our organization, our citizenship and civilization. It is ours to work out our own destiny, and in doing so furnish an example of a free and progressive people, whose industrial policy has made it possible to satisfy the best and highest aspirations of men, and which closes no field to human endeavor. We would wish for all mankind the beneficence of our system and the opportunities which it presents. We bid them level their condition up to ours; we will not level ours down to theirs. We will remove all restrictions from international trade as we have removed all restrictions from interstate trade whenever they will raise their labor and their conditions to our standard.

Men of Georgia, upon this great industrial question there should be no North nor South. To us of every section have been entrusted the interests of our country—our whole country. To others have been confided the care of other nations and other peoples. We will not interfere with them; we bid them not interfere with us. My fellow-citizens, in this conflict, influenced by patriotism, national interest and national pride, let us be Americans.

RALLYING REPUBLICANS.

FORCEFUL ADDRESS BY JUDGE A. W. TENNEY OF BROOKLYN, AT BURLINGTON.

No question can be presented to a people more important than the industrial estate of that people. It is a source of gratification to me to be able to address such a large audience under the auspices of the young men. I would much rather leave this question to the young men's clubs of the north than to the Cobden club. Never have we had a presidential campaign in which there are less of politics than this. We are to decide in this contest whether or not America shall own herself; whether her markets shall belong to American products or to European; whether the price of American labor shall be measured by the European standard or by the American. It is, in fact, simply a home question, a question of the fireside and of the hearthstone. No question more important can be presented to the American people, or any people, than that of the industrial relations of that people. The parallel running between these two dates—1860 and 1888—is peculiar and very suggestive. In the year 1860 an attack was made by the solid South, aided and abetted by a large fraction of the democratic party in the North, against the political system of our country. To-day an attack is made by the same section of the country and by the same fraction of the democratic party upon the industrial system of the country. I know there were many democrats who put on the blue, stepped into the ranks of the Union army, and with high resolves declared that, come what might and cost what it would, this republic should not die. I know that in this early autumn there are thousands and tens of thousands of democrats coming from the farms, the workshops, factories and mills, armed with equally high resolves, are declaring that American industries shall be protected from harm, from whatever source it may come.

I remember, as you remember, that in the year 1860 the greatest democrat of this age declared that there could be but two parties, patriots and traitors. So we declare in the early autumn of 1888 that in this tremendous struggle there are no republicans, no democrats, but we are either free traders or protectionists. I remember that in December, 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too, that last December Grover Cleveland sent a message to Congress, in which he declared that the tariff law which went upon our statute books in 1860-61, born out of the necessities of the republic, a law that went upon the statute books in 1860, Mr. Buchanan, then president of the United States, sent a message to Congress, in which he said: "I can find nothing in the constitution that will give me authority to coerce a sovereign State." I remember, too,